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CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semicircular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Munsif.

Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists of three main ridges which project toward the sea in a fanlike fashion, so that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor crests and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

But the challenge does not end with land features as such. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area is winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied to the term, is impossible under present circumstances.

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to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge—a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America—mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs—all of European manufacture and/or design—are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

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in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 16th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Munsif, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of these. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Munsif? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Munsif, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of inter-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but hazardous.

[1] See Art. I. G. Baster, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48 (1942), pp. 231–39; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1943* (1944), pp. 524–43.

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hazardous. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Munsif. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Munsif also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Munsif, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Munsif of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consistent and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Munsif began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, three new factors came to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Munsif, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education — in both Arabic and English — became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

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who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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25 specialists as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and most urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Munsif. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

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be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 75 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

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only one exception to this rule in al-Munsif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah"—"father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Munsif. It can be said here only that these terms—which are verbal symbols of status and role—encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social nearness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *sihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties—which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage—between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Munsif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

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the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[2] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[2] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

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seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education — and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true — he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Munsif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.